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[604] position of stepmother to these youngsters.[13] Her very closeness
[587] to her sister, the fact that these girls have played and worked to-
[595] gether since childhood, establishes her interest in the develop-
ment of her sister's children. The chances are that she will per-
[431] form protective ceremonies for them, that she will give them
[574] food and presents, that they will be frequent visitors in her home,
and that she will offer them economic assistance in times of need.

[881] At the puberty rite of her sister's daughter, she will give gen-
[584] erously of her labor and provisions. When her niece is about to
marry, she will doubtless act as one of the group of relatives who
passes on the desirability of the union; she will help erect the
dwelling to which the husband will be brought; and she may
[583] furnish household necessities. When her nephew marries, her
household will contribute to the gifts to be presented to his
[868] bride's relatives. The degree to which she participates in the in-
struction of her sister's children will vary with her own proficien-
cy. If she knows a great deal about the medicinal value of plants,
it is quite likely that she will transmit that information to her
sister's daughter as well as to her own girls.

[591] Somewhat different are the relations between the child and the
mother's brother, for he resides with the extended domestic
family only until he marries. If he is considerably younger than
the mother, he may be around during the entire childhood of the
individual; if he is older or near her age, he may depart while the
[574] child is yet very young. But even after he leaves the encamp-
ment through marriage, he frequently visits his parental home.
[596] At first, to his wife's relatives, he is a stranger and an unproved
[602] acquisition. He is bound to many of them by obligations of
[851] avoidance, restraint, and economic assistance, but the warmer
bonds of kinship and prolonged common residence are lacking.
Therefore, until he has children of his own and his status among
his wife's relatives is established, he is likely to keep in closest
touch with his own blood kin. There is a good deal of restraint

[601] [13] When a woman marries her deceased sister's husband or becomes her sister's co-wife, the stepmother term may be used as a self-reciprocal between her sister's children and herself, or the mother's sister term may be continued. The first is the more common practice.

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584 In the old days it was considered shameful to go openly with a girl. If a man liked a girl, he would try to put himself in her way as much as possible without attracting notice. He would try to get to every social dance that she went to. That was the Chiricahua substitute for taking a girl out. It gave the young people a chance to meet. It gave the girl a chance to show whom she liked. If a girl chose the same man for a partner many times, you could be sure that that couple might get married. If a boy liked a girl and she showed him attention in this way, he might go to his father or his uncle or some other close relative and ask if he would try to arrange a marriage. Sometimes the boy would be turned down and sometimes not; he never knew.

D. is going through this stage now. He is in love with S.'s daughter. . . . . He doesn't do anything. He just goes to the store when he thinks she'll be there. He gets in a word or two. Then he goes one way and she goes another. He'll be watching every few minutes from the other side of the canyon. Pretty soon she'll come for water. He will be watching and will come to the place by a roundabout way, timing it to get there while she's there. Then he'll get in a couple of more words. Later she'll find some excuse to go off somewhere where he is, and so on.

Many understandings are reached following a military triumph. This is the time when spirits are high and when young men have won a stake which permits them to join the ranks of the suitors. "The Chiricahua turned their victories into a celebration, a dancing and marrying time. Lots of young men took advantage of the occasion."

583 602 626 The etiquette regulating the conduct of the married man and his wife's relatives makes elopement almost an impossibility. When it occurs, the affront to the girl's family is so serious that the offending couple is forced to live in isolation unless forgiveness and approval can be secured. "There are few cases of elopement. A girl who is not trained right might elope. Usually the couple doesn't come back to the girl's folks to live then but makes a camp apart."

832 826 But, even though their parents and relatives have much to say about the choice of a mate, the young people have their own standards of beauty and desirability and their own ways of influencing the issue. Concerning the physical traits in a girl which excite most admiration, and those which are least well considered, the following pronouncement is typical:

Girls with big lips, or a big nose, or with skin too dark; who are stooped or have big feet; who have a Roman nose or one too wide, or who have too long a

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face—these are not considered good-looking. A full oval face is liked and medium height, not too tall. We like small hands and feet, but not too thin. A plump, full body is best. Legs should be in proportion to the rest of the body and not too thin. Mouth and ears should be in proportion to the rest of the face, not big.

Premarital sex experiences.—Parents are not always successful in bringing a daughter to marriage a virgin. Occasional cases of rape have been reported.

Rape is classed as stealing. Sometimes a man is killed for this. It is more serious to attack an unmarried than a married woman. If the person who did it is found out, there is bound to be revenge by a member of the family who have been wronged. This is individual revenge or revenge backed by a family. It does not involve all the people.

If the woman is married, the husband has the right to do anything to the one who mistreated her. The man's relatives may try to smooth it over for him. Payment is often offered.

The girl, instead of being an innocent victim, may carry on a clandestine affair. This is known as "night crawling," or, literally, "he crawls up to someone." One moonless night I was talking with two men, one young and one old. The young man remarked, "It's a good time for night crawling." The old man laughed, explained the meaning of the phrase, and added: "It's something that used to happen in the old days too. The word was used in the old times. But to do this was considered a disgraceful thing. A man would be beaten if he was caught at it. When you do this to a virgin, they kill your horses if you are caught."

If sexual relations between two young people are discovered, the girl's family has suffered an economic loss. Should the young man not be considered eligible by the parents, their anger is particularly aroused, for they have probably lost a chance to marry their daughter worthily and yet cannot force a suitable match from the intrigue. In this case "the parents of the girl have the right to handle the boy. They won't demand payment. They demand punishment, physical punishment." "When a girl goes wrong, it is considered very serious. It is up to the girl's parents. The man might be killed. Usually the couple is made to marry." As the last sentence indicates, the average family is likely to take the philosophical view:

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836 They don't like it if there is sexual activity before marriage. If there is a child
684 as a result of this, they make them marry. This kind of marriage is the same as
583 any other kind. Polite terms are used between the in-laws, and presents are
[848] given to the father-in-law. They usually marry after the child is born, for a girl conceals her condition as long as she can.

In another account the possibility of flight to avoid the wrath of the family is mentioned, and there is a hint of retribution even in the case of a forced marriage:

Sometimes she went to another band to escape punishment. Nothing was done in the other band. Sometimes the boy and girl were forced to marry. When a girl of good family got into trouble, the two families talked it over, and they were married. But the man had to pay a horse because he had gone with the girl on the sly. The horse pardons the case.

836 Often pressure for honorable marriage comes from the rela-
583 tives of the boy as well as those of the girl, for they are conscious
602 of the wrong their kinsman has committed and are eager to
626 avoid difficulties between the two families.

One night I was caught by another fellow lying with this girl. The next night several more caught me. The news spread. The relatives of the girl found it out, came to me, and asked me if it was true.

One of them said, "You've been going with my relative. You've been doing this all the time. Why aren't you a man and tell me you want to marry her instead of keeping her outside nights where it's cold and things might happen?" . . . .

My father, sisters, and brother knew nothing of this. I was sneaking. The girl's relatives told my parents, and my father told me that I should marry her. He said that I should let him tell the girl's relatives of my intentions so that they wouldn't feel bitter against me.

Her brothers and her mother, too, found out. They said to the girl, "You've been fooling around with this man. You'd better get married or else there will be talk against you." I really wanted to marry her and she wanted to marry me. I was just young and didn't have sense enough to do it right.

836 Of course, many assignations go undiscovered. The young people are capable of clever devices against prying elders. One girl, for instance, took advantage of the close family bonds and contrived to have a sleeping-place at home and another at her grandmother's. When she did not return to one of these beds, it was assumed that she was in the other. Often she was in neither place but in the encampment of her lover, a young widower.

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Sometimes these affairs become a testing-ground for love and result in stable union. Such a case is the one cited below, where social dancing acted as a shield for a sexual adventure. The individuals involved have been happily married for many years now:

> When I danced with her, I'd say, "What are we fooling around here for? We could be by ourselves." The next time she'd pull my sleeve, and we'd dance a little. Then I'd say, "Let's go." I'd go one way, and she'd go the other. We'd meet at a certain place.

Many problems arise when premarital sex relations result in pregnancy, especially if the man involved flees, denies responsibility, or is considered undesirable. The girl's kinsmen can no longer demand generous marriage gifts and will be relieved to find a man who will agree to support another's child. If a husband cannot be found for the girl prior to the birth of her baby, the public nature of the scandal and the necessity of provision for the child raise further issues. Therefore, resort is sometimes made to abortion, and illegitimate children are occasionally abandoned or destroyed at birth.

Herbalists give decoctions said to promote abortion. "There is a medicine used. You have to hire someone who knows how to make and use it." Mechanical means are also attempted:

> They try to bring about abortion by pressing themselves over a sharp stick or stump, or by getting someone to press the stomach in a certain way. It was practiced in the old days, and it is practiced now. News of it always leaks out, though it is practiced in secret.
>
> To perform abortion they press and massage the stomach. The girl shouldn't have anything to eat for several days.

Of the fate of an unwanted illegitimate child the following suspicion was voiced: "A certain man's daughter was in trouble a while back. She's just a young girl. They say her baby was born dead, but I think she killed it, or her relatives killed it in some way."

When illegitimate children are not disposed of, however, they are treated kindly. "Illegitimate children are often kept, and such a child is not discriminated against. It lessens a woman's

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The old lady answered me, "I'm the one who raised her. She's going to marry the man I want her to or she won't marry. You're the only man I want to have for my son-in-law." So the girl didn't have any chance to choose her own husband. 584

In another account the first move leading to the marriage of the narrator was taken by the grandmother of a girl whose parents were dead:

I went to her place that night. I had heard that the old lady had some tiswin. When I got there she told me to have a drink. As we talked she told me that I was single and needed a wife. She mentioned this girl and said it was worth two horses to get her. I had never seen the girl before. When I got home I started to think about it seriously. I talked it over with my relatives. An uncle of mine gave me a mule, and a cousin gave me a horse.

The next day I went to the home of a certain woman, a middle-aged woman. She was eating when I arrived. I called her outside and hired her to speak for me to this girl's grandmother. This woman lived just on the other side of a stream from the girl and her grandmother. The next day my go-between went to the old woman and asked her to give me the girl. The old woman demanded two good horses. My go-between thanked the grandmother and came to tell me what had been said. I gave her the horse and the mule to lead to the old woman, and the next day I went to the girl. [583]

But regardless of the direction from which the first overture comes, it is the young man or his representative who must lodge a formal request with the girl's kin for consent to the union. Gaining this consent and perfecting the arrangements is a delicate undertaking, for nothing is more humiliating than a refusal when matters have gone this far. A suitor who is an older man, who is without close relatives, or who is independent of them may plead his own cause. A man may also speak for himself if he is courting a divorced woman. But making the request is considered a most unwelcome task, and the matter is usually intrusted to a go-between: "There is always someone who goes to the girl's relatives and tells of a man's good points. This is not a profession. They find someone who is interested in the boy and is willing to go to the parents of the girl. It can be a man or woman who does this."

Occasionally, it is the boy's father who acts in this capacity. "The boy's father will go to the girl's father and say, 'I have a

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D. said, "I am going to give you valuable property. That man will give you horses. But the way you start off is not right." 584 [583]

The old lady asked, "Who is this man?"

He's standing out there. He's my nephew. I love him. He's a good man for you. . . ."

If the go-between is a relative of the suitor and a friend of the girl's family, he meets opposition by injecting a personal note that is hard to resist: "Sometimes the go-between would say, 'I want your daughter to marry this boy. He is my relative. From now on we will live as relatives.'"

It is an advantage "to get an influential person to talk for you." While the go-between is simply an agent, he takes his task seriously and believes his success is a measure of his persuasiveness. Should he be ungraciously received, he is likely to feel personal resentment. Consequently, it is more difficult for the average family to return a negative reply to a "public figure" than to an ordinary man. Forceful conversationalists are likewise in demand for this office. Sometimes a person gains a reputation in this field and may be asked to perform this service a number of times, but it is denied that there are any "professional go-betweens." Even affinal relatives may act for a young man: "I talked to my sister-in-law about a wife. I told her to ask a certain person for a wife for me. It took a long time." 584 554 [602]

A humorous story, illustrating the kind of temperament eminently suited for the task, is told of a man who has acted as go-between by request on a number of occasions and at least once without specific instructions: 584 156

J. got married through L. L. was always the life of the party. He was witty and loud spoken. He was a widower and J. was living with him. He was related to J. in some way. J. had been going with E.'s daughter for a long time. He intended to marry her anyway, but he had not done anything yet about it. Then L. was invited to a tiswin party at E.'s place. He got feeling good. J. and the girl were not there. While he was feeling good he got talking with Mrs. E. He said, "Now how about letting my relative marry your daughter?" Mrs. E. said, "That's fine!"

The next day L. woke up. He was the way people are after a party. "Oh, J.," he said, "now you are in for it!"

"What's the matter with you? You must feel pretty bad after that party," J. said.

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Suppose I want to marry a certain girl. A relative of mine goes over to her folks and speaks to them about it. They might say, "Send that boy over here." I go over there. They tell me to sit outside, perhaps, and they talk to me from the inside of their camp. Or they might tell me to come in. I go in. They ask me what I intend to do. I give them a good talk, telling them that I will work for them, stay with them, bring in something to each one of them, and give so many horses to them too. Then, if they agree, one of the old ladies, a relative of the girl I am going to marry, may put a blanket over her head and walk out, saying, "I'm going to hide from this man." The father and mother do that too. They have to [i.e., practice avoidance]. There is no choice for them. The close relatives of my wife are all there and show what they intend to do. Those who are not there send word to me about hiding or speaking polite. Then I act that way toward them.

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The presentation of gifts is a convention that is seldom violated. "A man must give a present to his wife's relatives or be disgraced; the woman is disgraced too if this is not done." It is expected that a chaste and dutiful girl will attract valuable gifts, and, in the words of an informant, "it's not much use asking for a woman in marriage if you can't give a present." It is one of the duties of the go-between to mention the gifts and to satisfy the girl's relatives that they will be adequate: "Whoever goes as go-between for the young man says, 'I want to ask you for your daughter. I'll give you so many horses, so many buckskins,' and he mentions whatever else he has been told to offer."

If an understanding between the families has been reached in advance and the visit of the go-between is merely a formality, he may take the presents with him and leave them as soon as consent is granted. More commonly, he returns later to deliver what has been promised. Therefore, the marriage gift is called "a burden has been brought." If the arrangement entails the giving of horses only, the prospective groom may simply turn them out to graze with those of his future parents-in-law.

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There are no definite limits to the number of presents that may be promised, and the size of the gift has little bearing on the status of the principals:

The woman's status is not affected by the amount of the present. The man who gives a great deal is just thought of as a man who is able to give a great deal. It's considered all right, but he can't raise his position that way. About four or five horses with saddles would be a very big present. A horse or two would be normal and average.

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583 It would be a mistake to interpret these presents as a "bride price." They do not entitle the husband or his family to any extraordinary control over the wife or her property. In fact, the control exercised by the wife's family over the husband is much more stringent than that to which the woman is subject, despite the total absence of any exchange gifts to the man's family. Moreover, these gifts or their equivalents are never returned, not even in cases of unfaithfulness on the part of the woman or of dissolution of the marriage tie.

[182] [602] [606] The marriage gift functions as initial evidence of the economic support, co-operation, and generosity which a man owes his wife's close relatives. The promise of future assistance can even take the place of the gift on occasion, for it is said that a poor man, unable to muster wealth at the time he wishes to marry, might say: "I am poor, but whatever I am able to accumulate in the way of material things will be yours, for I will be here with you all the time."

The usual practice, after the presents have been received, is to "divide them up among the relatives." Kin of the girl who have contributed to her support and who have been consulted about the marriage arrangements, are sure to receive some part, if only a token offering.

585 [591] As soon as a separate dwelling can be built and equipped, the young couple begin their married life together, without ritual or formalities:

> A day or two after consent is given, the marriage takes place. As soon as everything is ready they start living together. The girl and her female relatives build the house. They put it up near the home of the girl's parents, for the young people usually go to live with the girl's relatives. The relatives of the girl usually furnish baskets and household equipment for the place, though sometimes the man's family may give them things with which to start out.

591 606 This emphasis upon matrilocal residence calls attention to one of the fundamental themes of the culture, for the organization of the economy assumes the presence and the closest co-operation of the sons-in-law.

> A man feels under obligation to his father-in-law. He feels that he should hunt for him. Therefore, there was the tendency in the old days to go to the wife's people. A man's parents recognized this obligation too. They often said, "Well, that's what you married for. You'd better go over there."

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they say." This has been interpreted to mean: "The Chiricahua are out by themselves. They see a wagon. They are glad because they know their warriors will bring in the spoils."

Glory and enhanced status may be the by-products of the raid, but the immediate aims of those who organize such expeditions and participate in them are direct and practical:

One party after the other went out. They went on raids because they were in need. They divided their booty among the poor in camp. Sometimes they traded it to the well-to-do. Sometimes the horses were traded for a woman [in marriage]; they were given to the girl's parents.

When the people are poor and need supplies, the leader says, "We must go out and get what we need." It is volunteer work. Whoever is in want of food and necessities goes. The leader heads the party, which is made up of men only. Women never go on raids.

F.'s father was a great leader. He helped the people many times when they needed things. One time he prophesied that they were going to take a lot of booty near a certain hill. He told the people that a provision train with food and goods of all kinds would pass there. They went there, and the wagons passed by, and they got the goods.

In the speech of a leader, who is about to direct an expedition, the raid is also pictured as a stern economic necessity:

You love your homes and children. But we are going to leave them. Forget them. We do not know what is going to happen. Prepare your weapons. . . . . Do not be afraid. We want to accomplish something for our camp; for our people are in need. . . . .

Since raid and war are viewed as industrial pursuits, unwillingness to participate in them is attributed to indolence rather than cowardice:

If a man wouldn't go to war, it was because he was generally lazy, just too lazy to get around, and his mind watery. Another person might have to push him around to get him to do anything. People who don't go to war are just lazy people; that's all. There may have been some industrious men who did not go to war because they were cowardly—but, of course, these men would never tell why they would not go to war if this was the reason. I suspect there were some who were afraid to die. You couldn't tell for sure. It was usually blamed on laziness.

There is no absolute terminological distinction between the raid and a war expedition. Both are aspects of behavior which is described by a single term meaning "they are scouting about"

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586 of the wife and her relatives. Wealth may even decide the issue;
[556] where the relatives of the wife are poor and the man and his kin have greater resources, the husband may take a child with him at the dissolution of the marriage.

[589] The divorced man returns to his parental home or stays with
[589] some close relative. Unless he is well along in years, he soon marries again.

589 The chief loser in a divorce action is the woman. For at least
587 part of her sustenance she is now once more dependent on her
[602] own relatives, who, too, have lost economic assistance. Because she is now an experienced woman with a record of marital difficulties, it is unlikely that a new husband will offer presents to her parents. Should she fail to be married again soon, her reputation
[578] suffers. The word meaning "single woman who has been married before" (divorcée, widow) has an unsavory connotation. "This word would only be used to a single woman who was married before, and never to one who is single in the sense that she has
[558] not married at all yet. The word is more or less of an insult, and a person would not use it to a woman whom he respects."

589 Because unmarried girls are carefully guarded, the promiscuous women are usually divorcées and widows who have failed to remarry. [illegible] them the community and their kin do not exact the same h[illegible] standards of conduct demanded of the unmarried
[574] girls: "At a drinking party there might be a young divorced
[848] woman, but it is very unlikely that any unmarried girl would attend. Young men attend though." Divorced women are thought more likely to have illegitimate children than the unmarried: "After a first marriage a woman might have children out of wedlock, but that kind of woman is not liked."

587 Marriage can be more easily contracted with a divorced
• 583 woman than with a maiden. The waiving of marriage gifts has already been noted. Less pressure upon relatives and less per-
[584] suasiveness are required in arranging such a match. The celebration of a military victory or the social dance of a puberty rite may even be the occasion for a very informal union with a divorced woman:

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During the dance after a war party returns, it is all right to go home with a divorced woman. This kind of marriage is permitted. But it would not be done with a girl who had never been married. This could also be done during the social dancing at the tepee ceremony. These are people who have already been courting each other and talking together. It is just a good chance to do what they intended to do anyway. 587 583

SEXUAL ABERRANCE AND PERVERSION

According to an informant, "homosexuality is forbidden. The person who does this is considered a witch and is killed." Yet there is a suggestion of the violation of the canon in another statement. "I have never heard of two men having sexual relations together. I've heard about women doing it and about boys doing it to each other, but not older men." 838

One story of Lesbianism continually goes the rounds. "They say that there were two women at Fort Sill who lived together and had sexual relations together. They say someone once heard one of them ask the other, 'Is it sticky?'" Another informant who mentioned this incident placed it in the distant past:

I never heard of male homosexuality. I have, however, heard of Lesbianism. There was a case a long time ago, and the old men used to talk about it. There were two married women who ran off from their husbands and made a camp together for themselves. The people went to their camp and heard the two women talking. One was on top of the other, and one asked the other if she felt something sticky. The answer was, "Yes."

These women were laughed at and ridiculed. I don't know what they did after they were discovered, whether they continued to live together or not. I just heard the old people talk about this long ago.

If I should see two women behaving like this, I would feel ashamed of them if they had relatives. But if the women didn't have close relatives, I wouldn't feel so ashamed of them. The difference is that the women would bring shame to their relatives. The rest of the people might think they were so hard up they couldn't be married properly.

There are a number of women who excel in activities commonly considered the interests of men. Two such women, both now very old, were mentioned by several persons, and one in particular was singled out as a deviant from the ordinary feminine behavior pattern: 156

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934) 1936
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would ask a kinsman to act as intermediary for him in seeking the girl's hand. This "go-between" would visit the girl's parents' encampment, offer presents, and seek to make the necessary arrangements. If the girl's relatives approved the offer, the girl and her mother erected a dwelling in the vicinity of the parental home, and the union was recognized as soon as the boy took up residence with his new wife. Sororal polygyny was permitted, and the young man, if he proved a successful hunter and good provider, was encouraged to marry the younger sisters of his wife as they matured. Both the sororate and the levirate were practiced. A man could be forced to marry a sister or female cousin of his dead wife, and the woman could not refuse her dead husband's brother or male cousin if he wished to marry her. At marriage the Apache man was obliged to observe an unusually large number of avoidances and special forms of speech in respect to his affinities. Among others, the Mescalero man avoids his mother-in-law, her mother, her mother's sisters, and her sisters. In addition to avoiding his wife's female relatives, the Chiricahua man is called upon to avoid his father-in-law and may be requested to avoid other of his wife's male relatives. More distant relatives of the wife might request a special form of address known as "polite form" instead of avoidance. Where a choice is possible and avoidance is requested of a man by the affinity, it signifies great love for the girl through whom the relationship has been established and approval of the match.

The Apache man who enters the extended family through marriage is expected to work unremittingly for his in-laws. All the game that he kills in the hunt is brought to his wife who carries it to her mother's home for utilization and distribution. Whatever parents-in-law command or suggest, a son-in-law is expected to perform.[8]

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8. For the details of the Mescalero and Chiricahua kinship systems see Opler (21).